

G. Thompson

SUBSTANCE

OF

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

LADIES OF GLASGOW AND ITS VICINITY

UPON

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE GREAT QUESTION OF

NEGRO EMANCIPATION,

DELIVERED IN

MR ANDERSON'S CHAPEL, JOHN-ST., GLASGOW,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 5TH, 1833,

BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

ALSO,

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FORMATION

OF THE

Glasgow Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association.

"IT IS NECESSARY TO ABOLISH SLAVERY FOR THE SAKE OF OUR JURISPRUDENCE, AND OUR CHARACTER AS CHRISTIANS."—*C. J. Fox.*

GLASGOW:

DAVID ROBERTSON.

WILLIAM OLIPHANT, AND JOHN WARDLAW, EDINBURGH;

AND J. HADDON & CO., 27, IVY LANE, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXIII.

GLASGOW :

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TO
THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS,
AND OTHER OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE
GLASGOW LADIES' ASSOCIATION,
FOR PROMOTING THE OBJECTS
OF THE
LONDON AGENCY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LADIES,

In obedience to your unanimous wish so flatteringly expressed on Wednesday last, I have very hastily committed to paper the substance of the Address I had the honour to deliver the preceding day, before near two thousand of the fair inhabitants of your City.

I most cheerfully incur whatever responsibility may attach to me by the publication of the following pages, because they record the proceedings of a day, upon which I shall ever reflect with feelings of the deepest interest and delight.

That Heaven may bless your institution, and "prosper the work of your hands" in this "labour of love," is the earnest wish, of

LADIES,

Your most humble

and devoted Servant,

G. THOMPSON.

CANNING PLACE, GLASGOW, }
March 11, 1833. }

ADDRESS, ETC.

(FROM THE GLASGOW ARGUS.)

“ON Tuesday last, a most interesting meeting was held in the Rev. Mr Anderson’s Church, John Street, consisting almost exclusively of ladies, when Mr Thompson delivered another lecture in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery in the West Indian colonies. The assembly was one of the most interesting we recollect to have seen. Not fewer than 1,800 females composing the *elite* of the beauty and fashion of Glasgow, were present, with only here and there a sprinkling of males, amounting to perhaps a dozen or two, with the exception of the gentlemen who accompanied the lecturer to the bench. The place of meeting originally fixed was the Trades’ Hall; but our fair friends came forward in such numbers, that not one-half could be accommodated, and an adjournment accordingly took place to the Church.—ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq. was called to the chair, and expressed the high satisfaction he felt at seeing so many of his female friends present—a circumstance which augured well for the success of the righteous cause in which they were all engaged; and it might be predicted that such expressions of public opinion would soon sweep away slavery from every part of the British dominions. He would introduce Mr Thompson, who was not now a stranger to many of them—in fact, he was almost naturalised among us. (Applause.) We were sorry to see that Mr Thompson was labouring under indisposition.

Mr THOMPSON then rose amid great applause.”

MR CHAIRMAN—Ladies of Glasgow—Mr Anderson, the much respected minister of this chapel, in kind consideration of the state of my health, has allowed me to occupy his pulpit on the present occasion: it being a situation requiring less physical exertion than any other. I regret that I shall not

be able to command that energy of body, which it is desirable to possess in the discharge of a duty like that which lies before me, but if there be any circumstances calculated for a while to lift me above myself, and render me superior to bodily infirmities, they are those by which I am now surrounded. I have been introduced to you by your venerable Chairman as no longer a stranger, but naturalised amongst you; and am therefore encouraged to believe, that in every individual before me, I behold a kind, indulgent, and sympathising friend: brought hither,—not by the irresistible charm of novelty, but attachment to that cause, as the humble advocate of which, I have become so speedily and so widely known to you. How then can I gaze upon this vast congregation of the friends of the Negro and myself, and not be cheered, and thrilled, and animated? Never did I feel myself more deeply affected by any spectacle than the present—never more assured that our holy undertaking must quickly and triumphantly accomplish its object;—these are signs of the times which cannot be misunderstood—“he who runs may read,” that the reign of despotism is drawing to a close—the women of England and of Scotland are coming forth in the might of their majesty and mercy, and the fervour of their zeal must soon dissolve the fetters of the Slave. (Cheers.) Women of Glasgow! you have done well in coming from your homes this morning to testify your affection for the cause of liberty—you will not lose your reward—you will send through your land a kindred flame, and summon thousands of your sex to your help in the work of Emancipation. Grant me now your attention while I endeavour to strengthen your convictions of the justice of our cause, and increase your zeal in its behalf, by offering to your notice a few remarks, calculated, in my opinion, to effect these desirable ends.

There is one branch of the momentous question of Negro Emancipation, upon which I beg to fix your very serious consideration.

1. Because it has been set up as a justification of Slavery, as it now exists in our dominions.

2. Because the apology I refer to, appeals to the feelings of that portion of the community, which, above all others, I am desirous of seeing amongst the friends of Negro Emancipation.

3. Because it involves the high consideration, whether unto us belongs a discretionary power to act towards our fellow-men as we are now acting towards our Colonial bondsmen; and,

4. Because it affects the honour and equity of that Being who hath commanded us to "love our neighbour as ourselves," and to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us.

That part of the subject is this; *The abstract sinfulness of holding men in personal thralldom.* In other words, *Can any circumstances justify men in holding their fellow-men in bondage?*

In answer to this inquiry, I would unhesitatingly answer, Yes. There are circumstances during the continuance of which men may hold their fellow-creatures in slavery without incurring guilt by so doing: and the existence or non-existence of such circumstances, creates the justification, or occasions the guilt, of the man-stealer or slave-holder. When these circumstances are present, he is justified; when they are absent, he is guilty. These circumstances I will presently specify.

It has been recently asserted that Slavery in the abstract is not sinful,—that is to say, to steal a man and hold him in bondage is not *per se* a crime. The argument used to maintain this

position is, *that Slavery has been permitted to exist under the sanction of God,—that God cannot sanction sin,—therefore, Slavery is not sinful.* From this argument I hope to deduce a proof that British Colonial Slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought therefore to be immediately and for ever abolished.

In the *first place*, allow me to draw your attention to the law given on Sinai for the moral government of mankind to the end of the world. One of the commandments in that law is, “*Thou shalt not steal.*” This command, which has reference to all descriptions of robbery, must certainly include the *stealing of men*, which is universally allowed to be the worst description of theft that can be committed.

Another clause in the same divine code is, “*Thou shalt not covet.*” Now, I ask, what is there belonging to a man more precious than his own person, and his own liberty; and if the desire to possess the house or the ox of our neighbour be sinful, can a man covet and possess that which is infinitely more valuable to every human being than any other description of property, viz. his life, his limbs, his wife, and his children, and yet be guiltless?

Again, in Exodus xxi. 16, it is written, “He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.” Here, then, we have the law of God upon the subject. These commands are plain and unequivocal, and admit but of one interpretation. They point out in what light the Almighty views the crime of theft in general, and that of man-stealing and slave-holding in particular.

Again, in Deut. xxiv. 7, “If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die: and thou shalt put away evil from among you.”

Maimonides, Jarchi, and the Mishnic doctors, interpret these laws in their strictest sense. With regard to the latter one, they say that in the term "brethren of the children of Israel," are included the old and the young, the male and the female, the Israelite, and the Jewish proselyte;—and "*making merchandise*," as using a man against his will, as a servant lawfully purchased; yea, though he should use his services only to the value of a farthing, or use but his arm to lean upon to support him, if he be forced so to act as a servant, the person so compelling him but once to do so, shall die as a thief, whether he has sold him or not.

From these passages we learn what our duty is under all ordinary circumstances. We are not to *steal*,—we are not to *covet*,—we are not to make *merchandise* of men, or *constrain them to serve us* against their will;—all such offences being denounced in the plainest and most authoritative terms, and the persons guilty of an infraction of any of these laws being declared worthy of "death."

We come now to the plea set up for Slavery, viz. That God has sanctioned it. The passage generally quoted is the 25th chapter of Leviticus, from the 39th to the 46th verses, inclusive,—it is, however, upon the 45th and 46th verses principally that the argument is built: "Moreover, of the children of the *strangers* that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye *buy*, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in *your land*; and they shall be your possession: and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; *they* shall be your bondmen *for ever*; but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour."

The words, "they shall be your bondmen for ever," in the passage I have just read, when taken in connection with another in the same chapter, appear to me rather to establish

the right of the Hebrews to supply themselves with bond-servants from among the strangers round about, during the continuance of their dispensation, than to prove that individual slaves were held in captivity for ever. The 10th verse seems to promise liberty to all, both Jews and Gentiles, at the year of jubilee: “And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout *all the land* unto *all the inhabitants* thereof; and ye shall return *every man* unto his possession, and *every man* unto his family.”

Without staying to inquire whether the words “for ever” are to be understood as having a particular or general application, or both, let us look at the persons thus permitted to be held in bondage,—at those to whom the permission was granted,—at the mode of treatment adopted towards these captives,—and at the peculiar circumstances of the case.

1. Who were “the heathen round about,” the “strangers who sojourned in the land?” They were the remnants of nations who had filled up the measure of their sins, and against whom the wrath of God was revealed even unto death.

2. They were the inhabitants of a land which God had promised for many centuries to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—a land that was to be purged from the pollution of idolatry and the most abounding profligacy, and become the theatre of the most stupendous events. It was to become the possession of God’s chosen people, who were to keep up a knowledge of His moral and providential government, until the predicted period should arrive, when the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent’s head. Of this chosen people the Almighty was the Head, the Lawgiver, and the Governor. He gave them a code of laws—ceremonial and civil—which were not intended for other nations; and invested them with certain privileges which no other people can lay the least claim to, and which—for the most part at least—

were only to be continued to them during the covenant of works; for, when the covenant of grace and mercy, through Christ, should be established, other nations were to be equal participators; the Gentiles were to share the glorious and saving light, and Jews and Gentiles to be henceforth equal in rights and privileges (for “in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free”) and all men were to be on equal terms as brethren.

3. The bond-service to which the heathen were subjected by the Jews, was in almost all respects perfectly dissimilar to the degrading Slavery which now prevails in the West Indies. In the great majority of instances being only the payment of tribute, leaving them at liberty to avail themselves of every just means of acquiring wealth, and only preventing them from becoming the possessors of that soil which God had given to his “peculiar people.”

Purchased servants were to be treated with especial kindness, and seem in most cases to have been a superior order of dependents. Hired servants appear to have been among the meanest of those who bore the name of servants from among the heathen, and were generally employed as hewers of wood and drawers of water; in other words, as the bearers of burdens,—persons engaged in the lowest occupations.

4. Their treatment, *as servants*, was to be invariably distinguished by *kindness*. Maltreatment entitled them to instant release. The Sabbath was theirs,—the court of the Gentiles was theirs,—the way of access to all the benefits, temporal and spiritual, of the Jewish religion, was theirs. As *heathen slaves*, they were to be treated with uniform justice and tenderness; as *proselytes* and *converts*, in all respects as *brethren*.

I might, if I had time, and it were necessary, fully to show you from the inspired volume, that so far from magnifying

the comforts and privileges of bond-servants under the Mosaic economy, I have much curtailed the list of their advantages. I might quote the laws which bound the Israelites, under the heaviest penalties, to observe a course of kindness to the slave. I might specify the arrangements made for their instruction and conversion; I might enumerate the threatenings and denunciations of God against their oppressors, when they had any, and show also the execution of them in a variety of awful and premonitory instances; but I forbear, and earnestly recommend all present to peruse, with diligence and care, the first five books of the Old Testament, and mark what is there written respecting “*strangers*,” “*strangers within the gates*,” as contradistinguished from casual visitors,—“*strangers that sojourn amongst you*,”—“*servants*,” and “*bondsmen*,”—for under these five denominations are, I believe, included all the bond-servants taken from among the heathen.

5. Having glanced at the source whence the Jews derived their slaves, and at the treatment they were enjoined to observe towards them, let us regard for a moment the warrant they had for thus enslaving and detaining in bondage a portion of their fellow-creatures. Their warrant—their sole and only warrant—was the permission and sanction of their great Ruler, who was pleased to commute to Slavery a sentence of death, pronounced upon the Canaanitish and Philistine nations, in consequence of their flagrant impiety and incorrigible rebellion. Let this be well remembered. Slavery was a punishment for sin, and it was a punishment not inflicted according to the discretion of man, but ordered and regulated by God, the divine head of the Jewish theocracy. He was the God, and Father, and Legislator of the people of Israel; he was the God also of the heathen round about, though they knew him not, nor feared his name. Remember, too, that he is a Being not subject to the same laws as man, but

the source and giver of law to man ; that revealed codes are for *man* and not for *God* ; and then I think you will apprehend that which I am anxious to prove, viz. that Slavery might exist among the Jews, and yet neither furnish us with an example to be followed, nor establish any abstract right in us to be the holders of Slaves.

The *Divine sanction* then is the circumstance which justifies slavery—let it be shown to be in any other case, as it was in the case of the Jews, to be by the appointment of God, and we will acknowledge it to be right,—but we hold that the moment the sanction of God is withdrawn, the authority of man is at an end, and he is left to regulate his moral conduct by the revealed law ; every violation of which, is an offence against his Creator.—It does not appear from any passage in Scripture, that to man was ever given a discretionary power to bring into bondage any portion of his fellow-men : on the contrary, the most fearful punishments are assigned to those who are guilty of any infraction of the law in this respect. Had such a discretionary power ever been given, in the day when it was so given, the moral law would have been in effect annulled. In all cases the Jews were but agents, instruments, and ministers of vengeance in the hands of the Almighty, and were repeatedly chastised for assuming and exercising a power not delegated to them by their supreme Head. The Jews, however, were showing their obedience as much in the destruction of the Canaanites, as in the offering of appointed sacrifices : and in observing the arrangements regarding slavery, as in the performance of any religious service enjoined upon them.

But what is the use made of the fact that God allowed the enslavement of the remnant of the Canaanitish nations ? It is this, that *therefore* Slavery in the abstract is not sinful—and therefore we may hold men in Slavery, and be guiltless. See

for a moment where this would lead us. It would lead us to the conclusion, that the judgments and punishments which God has at any time commanded or authorized his own special people, his avowed and accredited servants, to inflict upon nations or individuals, may in strict conformity with religion and morality be inflicted by men upon their fellows, at any time, and in any place, without a renewal of such authority or command.

By a decree of the Most High a father was commanded to sacrifice his son:—Elijah was empowered to slay the false prophets, and the Israelites were enjoined to put to death some, and to enslave others of the idolatrous people whom they conquered in war, and *therefore* we have a moral and religious right to do any or all similar things, though we can show no corresponding warrant, sanction, or authority. Excellent Logic! Excellent Theology! (Loud cheers.)

Thus we see, to what mean and sinful shifts tyrants are driven, when they seek to justify the exercise of an arbitrary and pernicious authority—that they hesitate not to ascend even to the throne of the Eternal, to draw from thence a warrant for their own despotic practices. I hesitate not to declare, that to contend for the continuance of British Colonial Slavery, from the circumstance of Slavery having been permitted by God in the case referred to, is unreasonable, unscriptural, impious, and blasphemous.

Let the following questions be deeply and seriously pondered, ere such an argument is allowed to plead with you for the existence of so foul an institution.

1. Are the tribes of Western Africa in circumstances similar to those of the Philistines and Canaanitish nations brought into subjection to the ancient Hebrews?

2. Are we the chosen people of Jehovah, to whom Africa has been promised as a dwelling place and possession for ever?

3. Have we been instructed and commanded to make war upon the inhabitants of those regions, and either to exterminate them, or reduce them and their children to a state of abject vassalage ?

4. Does our system of Colonial Slavery resemble the Slavery permitted under the Hebrews, in the treatment of our slaves, in reference to food, clothing, and lodging,—their instruction in the truths of religion, and their facilities for becoming members of the church, and citizens of the state ?

5. Has God in any way recorded his sanction, or expressed his approbation, of our present system ?

6. Can it be shown that to us has ever been committed a discretionary power to enslave our fellow creatures ?

7. If British Colonial Slavery was wrong in its commencement, can it be shown at which event in the series connecting the first seizure with the present possession, the change from wrong to right took place ? If it be admitted that Colonial Slavery has always been wrong and is still a bitter evil, and a crying sin, what becomes of the abstract view and the deductions made from it ?

8. If it be argued that it must be done *gradually*, where, I ask, is the Scripture proof justifying the adoption of such a course ? Did God ever keep men in Slavery to educate them for freedom ? Or did he ever teach that a state of captivity was a necessary school in which to learn the use of liberty ? Do not the oracles of God declare, “live peaceably with all men,”—“Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord ?”

Shall we then presume to put ourselves upon a footing of equality with God ? Shall we snatch the scales of justice from his hands, and hurl the thunderbolts of his vengeance ? Or shall we meekly submit ourselves to the government of his

law, except when he himself shall set aside that law and employ us, as in the case of the Jews, as agents for the execution of his will?

I deem it unnecessary on the present occasion to go into the views of Christianity upon the subject. You require no proof from me that the religion of Christ is a religion of love, and that it never has, it never can sanction for a moment so foul, so inhuman, so impious, so murderous a system as British West India Slavery.

My opponent has said, show me that West India Slavery is sinful, or encourages sinful practices, and though its abolition should pluck the brightest jewel from the diadem of the monarch; and shake the foundation of the throne itself; and sever the colonies for ever from our empire, let it be annihilated. I am content that the question should be tried by the test of my opponent.

Is it sinful to make men labour without the hope of reward? If it be, let British Colonial Slavery cease for ever, for it exacts the labour of the negro without giving him the remuneration he deserves.

Is it sinful to separate families; to tear the child from the bosom of its parent, and the wife from the protection of the husband? Then let British Colonial Slavery be annihilated, for it does at this hour sanction the separation of families, whenever such a course is necessary to meet the exigencies of the planter, or satisfy the rapacity of his creditor.*

Is it sinful to withhold religious instruction from the negro, that by keeping him in darkness he may the more willingly submit to the unjust demands of his master? Then let British Colonial Slavery be brought at once to an end, for it has raised and perpetuated the most effectual barriers to the religious advancement of the negro population. Slavery and

* See Appendix, No. I.

knowledge are incompatible. Knowledge of a purely religious kind inevitably makes the slave acquainted with the injustice of the treatment he receives. He learns that he is equal to his proud oppressor in the possession of a natural right to his person and his liberty. He has created in his mind a restless desire after freedom, and he asks, in the language of your own wild and beautiful bard,

If I'm design'd, yon lordling's slave—

By *Nature's law* design'd,

Why was an independent wish

E'er planted in my mind?

If not, why am I subject to

His cruelty and scorn?

Or why has man the will and pow'r

To make his fellow mourn?

(*Great applause.*)

I am aware of the efforts made to persuade the public into a belief that the planters are anxious for the instruction of their slaves. The law of Jamaica contained in the slave code of February, 1831, is appealed to as a triumphant answer to all who express a doubt of the planters' sincerity. The clause is as follows: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all owners, proprietors, and possessors, or, in their absence, the managers or overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, *endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism*, and, as soon as conveniently can be, cause to be baptized all such as they can make sensible of a duty to God and the Christian faith." I acknowledge that a glance at this enactment would be likely to inspire one uninitiated in the arts of Colonial trickery, with an idea, that the legislators of Jamaica, and the planters generally, are favourable, nay, solicitous, for the conversion of their slaves; and

such an one might be ready to say, “allow this law to take its course, let time be given and the slaves will be instructed, and Christian liberty as well as civil, will soon dawn upon the island of Jamaica.” But let it be known, that time *has* been afforded for making a full experiment of this law. It was not passed for the first time in 1831. It was inserted in the slave code of 1829; nor was that its first appearance. It stood prominently forth in the code of 1816; nor was that the period of its first promulgation. In 1778 did this law stand upon the statute-book of that island; nor was it then that, for the first time, it demonstrated the pious anxiety of the slave-holder;—it was in 1696, 137 years ago, that this law was enacted for the benefit of the slave. You perceive that every individual exercising control over a slave is bound, by this law, to provide for the instruction of such slave in the principles of the Christian religion. Now, let us see how far the present practice corresponds with this ancient obligation. I hold in my hand a faithful account of the number of slaves upon 24 estates in the parish of St Andrew, together with the degree and description of instruction imparted; from which I find, that out of 4,591 slaves, 140 only are taught to read, 1551 are orally instructed by book-keepers—a class of men as utterly unfit to take the religious oversight of slaves as can be found upon the face of the earth,—and 2,900 are allowed no instruction whatever; and it should be known, that 356 of them belong to an English nobleman, who, in his place in the House of Commons, has again and again declared, that a religious education is necessary to prepare the negro for the enjoyment of civil liberty. Away, then, with such hypocritical professions; it is time that such impositions were brought to an end. Here is a law imposing a solemn obligation on every slave manager to impart Christian knowledge to the slave, and yet it has recently been asserted

by one of their representative agents in this country, that not one in a thousand of the negro population can, at this moment, comprehend the nature of an oath. We are therefore compelled either to regard the negro as a being incapable of receiving religious instruction; or his master as a wicked and hypocritical tyrant.

Is it sinful to frame unequal laws; oppressing the poor and defending the rich? If it be, then let British Colonial Slavery come to an end, for the laws it has originated are of the most unrighteous and partial description. "What is tolerable in the white man, is punished in the black; what is a venial fault in the master, is highly criminal in the slave; and criminality and punishment have a relation to the different offenders precisely the reverse of what they have in all other cases. In the laws of God, and in all human laws which are founded in justice, superior advantages render men more responsible, and, of course, give to their bad actions a higher degree of criminality: but in the Colonies the educated white is considered in the eye of the law as less guilty, and the poor ignorant black the greater delinquent. The law is fastidiously delicate in punishing the master, but ruthless and vindictive when the slave is concerned. Till of late years the slave was liable to the punishment of death for almost every thing; he might, in some colonies, be mutilated for the act of running away from severe usage; for endeavouring, by force, to break his chains, he might be burnt alive by inches, or hung up to perish in a cage." I should be compelled to detain you to an unwarrantable length if I attempted to travel through the laws of the Colonies, and point out all the perversions of law and justice which they exhibit. I will only notice the boasted slave code of Jamaica, framed in the month of February, 1831, the *ne plus ultra* of legislative wisdom for the government and protection of 330,000 slaves.

Clause IV. provides that *no slave shall marry without the consent of his or her owner*. Clause V. *authorizes the separation of families*, except when the marshall, under a writ of *verditioni*, shall seize a family entire—a case which very seldom happens. Clause VI. *legalizes Sunday markets*, till the hour of eleven in the forenoon. The XIV. clause, which purports to be a law for protecting the personal property of slaves, contains the proviso that all property above £25 in value, must be recovered in the courts of the island, *but that no slave shall sue except in his owner's name*; affording, in fact, no protection, should his master (which is most likely) be the man who commits the offence. The XXII. clause, which regulates the hours of labour, empowers the master to work his slaves between the hours of five in the morning and seven in the evening, *out of crop*; but fixes *no limit* to the toil of the slave during the crop season, which frequently lasts *six months*. The XXIII. clause deprives the slave of one of his customary holidays, without giving him any other day in lieu of it. Why this cruel subtraction was made does not appear. The XXXIII. clause, framed with the professed intent to “*restrain arbitrary punishment*,” gives the power to every *driver* of inflicting 10 lashes with the *cart-whip*; and to every owner, attorney, guardian, overseer, &c., full authority to inflict on every slave, man, woman, or child in the island, “*arbitrary punishment*” to the extent of 39 lashes of the cart-whip at one time.

Is it sinful to persecute the ministers of Christ, to desecrate the Sabbath, and hinder by legislative enactment the progress of religious instruction among the slaves? Then let my opponent join with me in denouncing West India Slavery, which is, and ever has been, characterized by a spirit of the most bitter enmity to the Gospel and its ministers, and the progress of moral improvement. Amongst the more recent

outbreakings of this enmity, is the conduct of the Assembly of Jamaica in December last, with reference to two petitions praying for the interference of that house to prevent the awful desecration of the Sabbath by Sunday markets, and Sunday labour; and setting forth the great obstacles which are opposed to their usefulness as ministers, by the general practices of labouring and transacting business upon that hallowed day. One from the Scottish missionaries was presented and *rejected*. The other* from five clergymen of the Established Church gave rise to a discussion in the Assembly, which admirably displays the tone, and temper, and religious constitution of that *honourable* house. Let it be remembered that on this occasion there was nothing to excite their angry feelings beyond the circumstance of the petition being in favour of religion. No foreign interference. No sectarian zeal. No dictation; but a respectful petition presented by five clergymen of the Church of England, ordained by their own bishop, and appointed by their own governor.

Mr PANTON presented the petition and remarked:—"The slave law expires at the end of 1834, and I think the parties from whom the petition under consideration emanates, would have acted *more wisely*, and *more becomingly*, had they waited until the expiration of this *short period*, and not thus *thrust* a petition on *such a subject* upon the house."

Mr BEAUMONT.—"I am *not favourable* to the prayer of the petition, because *I think it a matter upon which we are not required to legislate*. *I do not think it evil to labour upon the Sabbath*, and I am persuaded *we have no right to prevent the slave from occupying the day in any manner he thinks fit*." (!)

Mr BERRY.—"I *oppose* the reception of this petition. The petitioners are utterly destitute of respectability. (Laughter.)

* See Appendix, No. 2.

‘They call themselves members of the Established Church, but they are no better than sectarians in disguise, tools of the base and venal anti-slavery faction. Their conduct is proverbially improper. (Laughter.) I repeat, sir, that the conduct of these individuals is wholly indefensible. (Renewed laughter.) I shall read their names:—Mr Stainsby, island curate of St John’s; Mr Dallas, island curate of St Catherine’s; Mr Griffiths, stipendiary curate of Portland; Mr Panton, island curate of St Thomas in the East; and Mr Hanna, island curate of St George’s. Sir, I hope this house will not, for a single moment, entertain a petition emanating from *the obnoxious individuals I have thus marked out for public reprobation.*”

Mr BERNARD said, “The petition ought to be received. The petitioners were five respectable individuals, clergymen of the Established Church, and did not deserve the injurious treatment they had received.”

Mr GRAY.—“The petitioners call themselves evangelicals. They think themselves better than their neighbours. I hope, *therefore*, the petition will be *rejected*.”

Mr FRATER.—“This petition is uncalled for. *The negroes have already received from the legislature of the island ALL the indulgence and benefits that will be conferred upon them.* I hope the petition will be *rejected*.”

Mr BROWN.—“This is a macaroni petition, I say *reject* it, sir; is’nt it abominable that the house is to be teased year after year in this way by these petitions? Sir, this petition ought to be *rejected*.”

Mr WALKER *opposed* the reception of the petition. “He saw at the bar some of the fat, well fed, greasy gentlemen, who had attached their names to it. They were always devising measures to make the slaves discontented; and their petition should be *rejected*.”

Mr GROSSETT *objected* to the petition. "He considered the individuals from whom it emanated highly objectionable individuals. They called themselves evangelicals, which meant that they deemed themselves better than other people. Now, this was a plain proof that they were worse! He hoped, therefore, their petition would meet with the fate it merited."

"The house divided;—against receiving the petition, 24; for the petition, 8; majority against it, 16."

Here then you have at once a fair specimen of the legislative wisdom and profound piety of Jamaica senators, governing for the moral, temporal, political, spiritual, and eternal interests of 330,000 of your fellow subjects, displaying the most deadly and determined hostility to the spread of evangelical truth upon that large island. You are also qualified to judge with what truth and sincerity the advocates of slavery in this country declare, that the planters and legislators of the colonies are deeply anxious to promote the religious welfare of the black population. It is at the same time asserted, that the opposition which at any time has been manifested to the ministers of religion, has only been exhibited towards sectarians; but here you have them opposing the very men which, above all others, they profess to regard as the qualified and useful instructors of the slaves. Were other evidence necessary, I could lay before you the testimony of highly respectable planters on this subject. I will, however, only mention that Mr Wildman himself, a member of the Established Church of England, declared before the Committee of the House of Commons that Mr Trew, one of the most pious and devoted preachers of the Gospel on the island of Jamaica, "drew more malice and envy upon him than any person in the island."

In further illustration of the same spirit of persecution, let me draw your attention to two newspapers. One, the most popular journal in the island of Jamaica, and the other, the

well-known pro-slavery broad sheet of your own city. In four numbers of the former, I find the following epithets bestowed upon the missionaries of the island:—"Anti-slavery and methodistical crew." "Lazy and worthless mechanics." "Vagabonds." "Canterers." "Sectarian gang." "Infamous hypocrites." "Mad dogs." "Consecrated cobblers." "Infamous spies." "Thieves." "Villains." "Furious animals." "Hoary-headed hypocrites." "Accursed sectarians." In four numbers of the last mentioned paper, I find the following epithets heaped upon the head of a highly valuable missionary lately driven from the scene of his pious and praiseworthy labours to find an asylum from persecution, and a different sphere of usefulness in this kingdom. "Macaroni Knibb." "A stale beer spouter." "A hireling libeller." "A mendacious and truculent fellow." "A reverend mountebank." "A consecrated cobbler." "A violent and vulgar fanatic." "A rancorous demagogue." "A hypocrite." "A wolf in sheep's clothing." "A raving incendiary." "An apostle of falsehood, cant, and hypocrisy." "A cold-blooded traducer, employing a hellish sort of casuistry. Connected with the anti-slavery gang," to whom are applied the words of our Saviour, "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." Such is the language employed by the Jamaica Courant and its amiable twin brother the Glasgow Courier. One other specimen taken from the Kingston Chronicle of December 15, 1832. In a long article on the desecration of the Sabbath, the following argument is used as a justification of the throwing out of the petition just before referred to.

"The desecration of the Sabbath is a favourite theme with those affected, and would appear, most pious Chris-

tians, who, out of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, delight in pecking at the mote that is in the eye of their neighbour, and cherishing the beam which clouds the vision of their own. Did they really possess that enlightened judgment, were they actuated by that holy spirit which can alone entitle them to be Christian pastors, they would long since have found that the gospel of Christ is decidedly opposed to that strict observance of the Sabbath for which they contend, and that the principal of the early disputes which arose between Christ and the heads of the Jewish religion, was on account of the breaches which he (Christ) and his disciples made in that observance, all of which he not only excused but condemned the accusers. I would strongly recommend the 12th chapter of Matthew to the attentive perusal of the most pious and charitable Christian recorders, and the gentlemen who, being 'wiser in their own conceits' than either Christ or his Apostles, lately petitioned the House of Assembly on the subject, for there they will find that Christ was so determined a desecrator of the Sabbath, that immediately after giving a lecture to the pharisees he went into the synagogue, and committed another breach of the Sabbath in their presence."

These facts speak for themselves, and will, I am persuaded, dispose you to act with all possible energy and promptitude, that you may, if possible, rescue Christian ministers and benighted slaves from the hands of such ruthless, impious, and cruel men as those whose proceedings I have now been referring to.

Is murder sinful? then let British Colonial Slavery be abolished, since it has been demonstrated by the most respectable witnesses before both Houses of Parliament, that the system pursued in the West Indies, and especially that part of it connected with the cultivation of sugar, is fatal to the

increase of the slave population ; yea more, produces a fearful decrease, and threatens, in process of time, completely to depopulate our colonies. I am aware that this subject has been greatly mystified by the interested advocates of colonial slavery, but the following extract from the evidence of Mr Buxton will divest the subject of all ambiguity, and strikingly illustrate the tendency of the system.

“Independently of the increase or decrease of the population, have you ever compared the actual mortality of a large body of the slaves, and the mortality in this country?”

“I have.”

“Was not the population in England and Wales, as surveyed in pursuance of the act of parliament passed for that purpose in the year 1802, found to be 9,343,578?”

“Yes.”

“Were not the average annual deaths in England and Wales, during fifteen years terminating in 1810, 194,505?”

“Yes.”

“Does not this afford, on a population of 1735, an annual average of deaths about thirty-six, omitting only the fractions?”

“Yes, thirty-six.”

“Have you ever made a similar calculation on a population of 1735 slaves in Jamaica, founded upon the official returns?”

“I have.”

“Does that calculation lead you to a result of about fifty-one as the annual mortality, omitting fractions, upon seventeen coffee estates?”

“Yes.”

“Have you made a similar calculation upon seventeen sugar estates, and does not that lead to the result of sixty-one as the average annual mortality in 1735 slaves?”

“Yes.”

“Can you produce these calculations?”

“Yes.”

Hence it appears that *sixty-one* people die on Jamaica sugar estates for *thirty-six* that die in England: the climate being equally congenial to the respective inhabitants of either. Away then with all the nonsense about inequality in the numbers of the sexes and other matters which have been mixed up with this branch of the subject. Here is an infallible test, and one which clearly demonstrates the murderous nature of that institution which is so vigorously defended in the present day.

Let us not forget, in our consideration of the present question, our awful individual responsibility to heaven for the employment of every degree of influence in society which we possess. If we have the power of mitigating the horrors of this hateful system; if, further, we possess the ability to effect its total overthrow; then we are ourselves responsible for the continuance of the system with all its attendant horrors and enormities. We become, in a solemn and impressive sense, the possessors of these rational and immortal beings: and how shall we answer to Him who made them, if we neglect or refuse to exert ourselves in their behalf? Let us remember that they are God's creatures, created by the same power, sustained by the same goodness, bought with the same price as ourselves; that they have a capacity for suffering and enjoyment like our own, and that yet we, notwithstanding, suffer them to be bought, sold, fettered, flogged, tasked, toiled, insulted, inflamed, degraded, despised, betrayed, and butchered. We allow this in despite of reason, revelation, truth, justice, humanity, and love. O think of these things, and weep for your country and for yourselves! Think of these things, and let your zeal be enkindled and your pity excited, that your exertions may henceforth be commensurate with

the miseries of these unhappy beings, and your own responsibility. Remember what they might have been, and what they *are*. They might have been virtuous; but they are deeply sunk in vice. They might have been enlightened; but they are enshrouded in thick darkness. They might, perchance, have been Christians; but they are miserable heathens. They might have been soaring to heaven; but they are eating and toiling with the beast. They might have been fulfilling the true purposes of life; but they are debased to the condition of crawling slaves, who must be driven to their beastlike occupations by the most horrible scourge in the world. Remember that all this vice, and darkness, and heathenism, and prostration of soul, and degradation of body, and perversion of mind, are chargeable upon *us*, who have permitted them to be impiously seized, and held in thralldom to the present hour.

See the demoralizing effects of the system, manifested in the conduct of its abettors at home. Direct your attention for a moment to a great meeting of West Indians, for the purpose of promoting what they call the welfare of the colonies. Such a meeting was held some time ago in London. British Peers, and Commoners, and Merchants, and Aldermen, and other high professional and mercantile gentlemen, were assembled,—many of them solemnly sworn to defend the liberties and rights of every unoffending subject of the realm. What did they do? Did they show any pity for the slave? No.—Did they exhibit any regard for the eternal principles of truth, justice, and equity? No.—Any attachment to the cause of religion? No. They fiercely denounced, what?—wrong? no;—cruelty? no;—oppression? no:—But the measures of the government then recently brought forward for the amelioration of the condition of the slave. They styled such interference unjust, monstrous, unheard of, and

iniquitous. They displayed an unbending attachment—to what?—mercy? no;—humanity? no;—*to money!* Each seemed to say, “Mammon, thou art my god, and I will worship thee.” Did they denounce the Courant? No.—Did they condemn the treatment the Missionaries had just experienced? No.—Did they propose a measure of emancipation of any kind? They did not. There was a scrupulous avoidance of all the real facts and merits of the case. Many things were said about the worth of the Colonies; the export and import dues; the amount of tonnage in the shipping; the number of seamen employed; the past greatness and present distresses of the Colonies; the necessity of instant relief for the Planter;—but not one word about the compromise of national honour; or the forfeiture of national independence; or the wants and claims, and natural and inalienable rights of the Slave; or the sacred duties and obligations of religion. Nothing could exceed their acute sensibility on the subject of their own wrongs; *their* honour, and character, and comfort, and wealth, and independence, were all matters of the highest possible importance, and were ably and eloquently expatiated upon. But not one word was said in vindication of the natural rights of 700,000 unoffending human beings, although their happiness and welfare were bound up in the question they were met to discuss. O how disgusting to see men of rank, and wealth, and influence, and high profession, thus selfishly struggling for money,—for polluted blood-stained money; and consenting to obtain it at the expense of the happiness and liberties of their fellow-men!

See the nature of Slavery further illustrated in the recent transactions and present aspect of Jamaica. The massacre of slaves; the persecution of Missionaries; the destruction of chapels; the rejection of religion. A band of civilized barbarians in the shape of white magistrates, officers of militia,

planters, merchants, &c. cheered on by a preacher of the Gospel, to deeds of spoliation and blood; and forming unions for the banishment of the shepherd and the destruction of the flock. A House of Assembly upholding cruelty, fostering despotism, desecrating religion, reviling the constitution, resisting the government, and threatening the overthrow of a part of the British empire. A degraded, enslaved, terrified, black population on the one side; an infuriated, blood-thirsty, and infatuated confederacy of white slave-mongers on the other. A race of men dying under the hand of oppression: if quiet, toiling and expiring in unmitigated captivity; if murmuring or resisting, visited with the whip, the dungeon, the rack, the gibbet, the bayonet, or the musket-ball.

If for these things the judgment of God should come upon us, we cannot say we have not been warned. Rolling thunders, and sweeping hurricanes, and wild tornadoes, and desolating earthquakes, and raging fevers, and declining commerce, and a dying population, and weeping mercy, and insulted justice, and reason, and religion, and God, have said again and again, "Let these people go." Their voices are still heard; let us, though late, obey. Women of Scotland! hear you not their voices to-day? will you not make this question peculiarly your own?

There are many of the evils of Slavery which you can more fully appreciate than ourselves. You can enter into the feelings of mothers torn from their children; and wives severed from their husbands for ever.

"E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny,
To live together, or together die;
By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
See the fond link of feeling nature broke;
The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,
Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part."

You can estimate the situation of those wretched mothers who

are doomed to commit the nurture of their children to others; whose daughters are liable to the assaults of wicked and evil-disposed men; who are prevented frequently from marrying, by the dislike which the negroes have to see their wives indecently exposed and cruelly flogged at the command of a merciless master. I may be accused of appealing to your feelings while I state facts like these. But is not the question we are discussing a question of feeling? Does not the negro mother feel when she consigns her offspring to the care of another? Does she not feel when she looks upon her child, and reads "slave" written upon its joyous brow, and remembers that those limbs may be some day loaded with manacles; that body lacerated with the whip; that brow overcast with sullenness and despair; that frame exhausted by unrewarded toil; and that life shortened by accumulated privations and sufferings!

This is a question interesting to you who are of the softer sex, because to you is committed the training of our infant population. It is yours

" To pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind,
To breathe the enlivening spirit, and to fix
The generous purpose in the glowing breast."

Will you not infuse into that "glowing breast" the love of liberty? Will you not teach your infants to pity and relieve the captive? Will you not inspire them with a hatred of despotism? Will you not teach them in their youth to say, "the liberty we love we will bestow?" Women of Scotland! be encouraged. The wise, and the noble, and the good, are with you in this great cause. Colonial despotism already totters,—the hand-writing is already seen upon the wall. Soon will the knell of slavery be rung, and the shout of exultation go up, "England is just,—her slaves are free."

Finally. I recommend this cause,—this good, this noble, this ennobling cause,—with its many deep and spirit-stirring interests, to your warmest zeal, your tenderest sympathies, your unceasing care, and Christian consideration. Be not surprised, still less discouraged, at the attempts made to retard its progress. It has been assailed,—it will be assailed. It has ever had its enemies,—it will ever have its enemies: but it has advanced, and will advance, to a speedy, a happy, and a glorious consummation. It rests upon the basis of Eternal Justice. It has been upreared by the hands of humanity, and benevolence, and Christian piety; and it shall still increase,—and still extend,—and still rise higher in the estimation of the great and the good, and in the approbation and patronage of heaven; and its friends, from its lofty summit, may smile defiance on its foes, while every shaft which envy, or faction, or ignorance, or malice hurls, to wound or to destroy it, lies pointless and perishing at its base. Yes! it shall stand unhurt, unsullied, and immoveable,

“ Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
 Swells from the vale, and midway meets the storm ;
 Though round its breast the gathering clouds are spread,
 Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

APPENDIX.

No. I.

“THE distress and terror among a gang of negroes, when the marshal’s deputy, with his dogs, and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee mountain, (staying for a few days with a brother clergyman, who had permission to reside there,) on which were about seventy or eighty negroes; the proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves to pay themselves; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked, about an hour before daylight, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children. I at first scarce knew what it was, but in a few minutes a private servant, who did not belong to the property, (and who was in the yard beyond the reach of the seizers,) came to my window and informed me, that it was the marshal’s deputies making a levy on the negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, being nearer to the scene of action than he was, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the negro-houses the resistance had ceased, for the negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law, they being eight or ten in number. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief, by a fierce and horrid-looking Irishman, who had been one of M’Gregor’s freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broad-

sword over the poor creature with the grin and growl of a demon, as much as to say, you dog, I will annihilate you and them too, if you attempt to interfere; though, of course, we had not the least intention of interfering, we were only quiet spectators.

“Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others, with some women, secreted themselves among the coffee trees till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and most of the women and children, amounting in the whole to between thirty and forty, which were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children, for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman in particular, a housewoman, had six or seven children; two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped; but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud and very bitterly for it, saying that she must give herself up if the child was not got back, for she could not live separate from it.”—*Bickell's West Indies*, page 19.

NO. II.

To the Hon. ROBERT ALLWOOD, Speaker, and the Members of the House of Assembly of Jamaica.

“The humble Petition of the undersigned Clergymen of the Established Church,

“SHEWETH,

“That your petitioners, being impressed with the very great importance, in every point of view, of the due religious observance of the Christian Sabbath, cannot but deeply lament the practice of desecrating that holy day, which obtains throughout this island, by Sunday marketing and Sunday labour.

“That your petitioners feel bound to declare, that the desecration of the Sabbath, hinders, in a very material degree, the success of their labours, as ministers of the Gospel, and is the most effectual barrier to the religious and moral improvement of the slaves and of the free people.

“That your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your hon.

House to take this matter into your consideration, and in your wisdom, to pass such an enactment as shall substitute some other day in the week, in lieu of Sunday, for holding the markets in the several parishes, and prohibit, under penalty, the occupation of the Lord's day, by marketing and other common labour.

“ That your petitioners, in imploring your hon. House thus to remove this crying evil and reproach from our country, are bound also to declare, that unless some other provision be made for them, the slaves will thereby, in a great measure, be deprived of their means of subsistence, which at present are derived from their occupation of the Sabbath in labouring in their grounds, and in marketing.

“ Your petitioners, therefore, humbly submit that, in order to make the enactment they pray for effectual to the attainment of its object, such additional time should be given to the slaves in each week, as will enable them to provide for their necessities, without desecrating the Sabbath.

“ That your petitioners, as ministers of the Established church, engaged in the religious instruction of the people, and supported by the country for the express purpose of preaching the Gospel to all classes, come forward to state to your hon. House, their firm conviction, that they shall never be able to execute their office, especially among the slaves, in an efficient manner, while the crying evil, of which they complain, is permitted to exist.

“ Your petitioners therefore humbly pray the aid of your honourable house in removing the same, and as in duty bound, &c.

“ Signed by

“ Mr STAINSBY, island curate of St John's.

“ Mr DALLAS, island curate of St Catherine's.

“ Mr GRIFFITHS, stipendiary curate of Portland.

“ Mr PANTON, island curate of St Thomas in the East.

“ Mr HANNA, island curate of St George's.”

No. III.

COLONIAL SLAVERY.

(*From the GLASGOW CHRONICLE of Friday, March 8th.*)

Formation of a Ladies' Association in Glasgow, for the Immediate and Total Extinction of Slavery throughout the British dominions.

IN our last we noticed the lecture recently delivered by Mr Thompson, to near 2000 of the most respectable ladies of Glasgow and its vicinity, assembled within the walls of Mr Anderson's chapel, in John Street, to which building an adjournment took place, in consequence of the great number who were unable to gain admission into the Trades' Hall. We mentioned also the invitation given by Mr Thompson, to his brilliant auditory to meet him at one o'clock on the following day (Wednesday the 6th), to consider the propriety of forming a Ladies' Association. We are happy to be able to state some interesting additional particulars. On Wednesday, at the hour appointed, upwards of 500 ladies had assembled in the lower part of the chapel, all apparently most deeply interested in the object which had called them together. The audience embraced the female portions of many of the most respectable and influential families in this city. On the appearance of Mr Thompson he was warmly greeted by his numerous and highly interesting audience.

MR THOMPSON commenced by observing that the present was a day of anticipative triumph, and his language therefore should be that of heartfelt congratulation. After the thrilling spectacle he had beheld the preceding day, and with such a demonstration of attachment to the sacred cause in which he was engaged, as he had then before him, he dare not doubt the issue of the contest—he would give his fears to the winds, and encourage his heart with the assurance of a speedy and a glorious termination. It was indeed a day to be remembered. Where were the boastings of

their opponents now? Hushed into the stillness of despair. Where were the friends of despotism now? Low in the dust of degradation and disgrace. The Ladies of Glasgow had taken hold upon the standard of immediate emancipation, and had uplifted it upon the ruins of a base and unholy cause. The banner of freedom was now proudly floating in the breeze, and around it had rallied the beauty and intelligence, and patriotism and piety of the fairest portion of the inhabitants of the city. Oh how short-sighted were the designs of their opponents! Only one short month before, and they were exulting in an imaginary victory, and declaring that they had struck the death-blow to the cause of negro freedom, but how soon had they been forced to yield to truth and justice. The note of triumph was speedily changed into the signal of retreat; and now, alas! in the seclusions of their own selfishness, they were brooding over an inglorious defeat, and chewing the cud of bitter disappointment. (Cheers.) The tidings of the meeting on the preceding day, and of the one then holding, would increase their dismay, and complete their annihilation as a proud and injurious faction. He could assure the ladies present, that from his heart he desired his bitterest opponents no greater torment than they must feel when they witnessed the zeal, decision, activity, strength, and usefulness of the ladies of Glasgow in the cause of immediate and total emancipation.—(Cheers.) Mr Thompson then proceeded to call the attention of the ladies present, to the business of the meeting. He traced the history of the agency Anti-Slavery Society from its commencement to the present time—depicted in glowing colours the success of its operations in almost every part of England and Wales—demonstrated the disinterestedness of its patrons, by pointing to the large pecuniary sacrifices they had made for its support, and the exhausting labours they had endured in its service, and earnestly recommended it to the kind patronage and assistance of the ladies of Glasgow. They were in some degree qualified to judge of its utility, as they had recently heard frequent expositions of its principles, and had witnessed some of its operations. The first question to be determined was, should a Ladies' Association be formed? If that was answered in the affirmative, the next would be—what particular objects it should confine its attention to; and it would then remain to appoint the necessary officers, and immediately commence operations. After some further suggestions, Mr Thompson concluded by respectfully requesting the ladies to

proceed at once to decide the questions he had submitted. Mr Thompson finished his address amidst loud cheers.

An Association was instantly formed, and denominated "The Glasgow Ladies' Association for promoting the objects of the London Agency Anti-Slavery Society."

A president, six vice-presidents, treasurer, secretaries, and committee were severally named and appointed.

AN UNANIMOUS WISH WAS EXPRESSED THAT MR THOMPSON WOULD ALLOW THE LECTURE OF THE PREVIOUS DAY TO BE PRINTED, AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE SOCIETY THEN FORMED. With this wish Mr Thompson most readily complied. Thanks were voted to Mr Anderson, and the managers of the chapel, for their kindness in granting it on two occasions for the use of the ladies.

The thanks of the meeting were given to Mr Thompson, for his great exertions in the good cause of the immediate abolition of Colonial Slavery.

This motion was carried by acclamation amidst every demonstration of enthusiasm.

Mr THOMPSON, in acknowledging the honour conferred upon him, begged the ladies would allow him to choose his own mode of testifying his gratitude, which would be by devoting himself for the future with unabated, and, if possible, increased ardour to the great and glorious cause in which they were all engaged. (Cheers.) He wished them all possible success in their undertaking, and trusted that there would be an immediate proof given of their sincerity, by placing some funds in the hands of their much respected treasurer, Mrs A. Wigham. A collection was immediately commenced, and, in a very short time, upwards of £40 was collected.

Never has been witnessed a more delightful meeting than the one to which we have now very imperfectly alluded. The greatest unanimity prevailed upon the subject of immediate abolition, and every heart seemed elated with the prospect of a speedy issue to the present noble struggle.

Since writing the above we have been informed that in compliance with the unanimous wish of the meeting, Mr Thompson yesterday morning waited upon Miss Crawford of Langside, to request that lady to become the president of the association. Miss Crawford expressed herself much flattered by the nomination, and desired Mr Thompson to convey to the ladies of Glasgow her assur-

ance that she would with great pleasure allow her name to appear at the head of their infant society. The amiable lady accompanied these sentiments with the very liberal donation of £50. The collections already amount to above £100.

NO. IV.

DISCUSSION ON COLONIAL SLAVERY, IN GLASGOW,

BETWEEN MESSRS THOMPSON & BORTHWICK.

(*From the CHRISTIAN JOURNAL for March, 1833.*)

OUR readers will recollect that, in our last number, we inserted an account of an anti-slavery meeting in Glasgow, at which Mr Knibb took the most prominent part. The simple narrative of the persecutions to which he and his fellow missionaries in Jamaica had been subjected, for preaching the doctrines of the gospel, and which ultimately compelled them to flee from that scene of unblushing licentiousness and misrule, and the impassioned eloquence with which he advocated the cause of the injured negro, left an impression on thousands which will not easily be effaced. Whatever difficulties might formerly press upon the minds of the religious part of the community were now and for ever obviated. The cry was loud and universal,—“ Our missionary chapels have been pulled down by the hand of ruthless violence; our faithful missionaries have been forcibly expelled from the colonies; the planters, not content with keeping their slaves in corporeal bondage, have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent them from obtaining spiritual freedom; and we insist upon the immediate abolition of this accursed merchandise in the souls and bodies of men.” To counteract, if possible, this impression, a Mr Peter Borthwick made his appearance in Glasgow, and delivered some lectures on the justice, humanity, and propriety, of gradual aboli-

tion. This individual, it may be necessary to remark, for the information of some who may read this notice, is the paid and acknowledged organ of the West India interest. We attended his lectures in the Mechanics' Institution. He possesses a mind of that minute description which loves to dwell on the atoms of a part; an eloquence, specious, and showy; and an elocution somewhat theatrical. Ingenious in sophistry, skilful in keeping from view the real point at issue, and careful in his selection of letters, &c. from official individuals interested in the question, he managed, we have no doubt, to impose on some of that numerous class who are too lazy to think for themselves. An ardent admirer of freedom himself, according to his own statement, he was at great pains to prove that slavery was sanctioned in the Bible,—that the negroes were the happiest beings in existence, furnished with all the comforts and even luxuries of civilized life,—and that the planters ~~are~~ the most humane, gentle, Christian men, whom it has been the good fortune of this or any past age to behold. And yet he and the planters hated slavery from the very bottom of their souls, and were ardently desirous of its utter extinction. To oppose him, as well as to diffuse more extensive information on the subject of colonial slavery, George Thompson, Esq., one of the lecturers of the Anti-slavery Agency Committee, came from London with all possible speed. We attended his lectures also. The mind of Mr Thompson is large and comprehensive—his eloquence impetuous and commanding—his elocution easy and natural, and, in short, he possesses in no ordinary degree the qualifications of an eminent orator. It was agreed that the two opponents should meet face to face, and defend their respective opinions before a Glasgow audience. The discussion was to continue for three nights—Sir Daniel Sandford in the chair. So great was the interest excited, that, on the first of the appointed nights, thousands were assembled before Dr Wardlaw's chapel, an hour before the doors were opened. The church was filled to excess in six or seven minutes. As the two intellectual combatants made their appearance on the platform, we could not help minutely scanning the countenance and deportment of each. Mr Borthwick seemed ill at ease, and his countenance, instead of beaming with hope, was pale and pensive, as if already anticipating a defeat. On the contrary, Mr Thompson stood before the living mass with the manly, though respectful, bearing of one who was conscious of having truth on his side, and who could not therefore be afraid of the issue. It is not

our intention to give an account of the speeches. It would require sheets instead of pages to present the barest and most meagre analysis of ten hours' speaking. Suffice it to say, that never was man more humbled than Mr Borthwick. His former eloquence entirely deserted him,—he could scarcely sometimes find words to give utterance to his thoughts,—instead of grappling fairly with the question in dispute, (the comparative advantages and disadvantages of gradual and immediate abolition,) he wandered from subject to subject, and not unfrequently he brought forward statements so easily disproved that nothing but the most idiotic folly or presumptuous confidence in the ignorance of his opponent could warrant their introduction. As his sophistry and misstatements were attacked by the unanswerable arguments, the stirring eloquence, and the cutting sarcasm of his opponent, we felt emotions of pity stealing over our mind, and we sometimes wished that Mr Thompson would not “thrice slay the slain.” There was one feature in the character of the generality of the audience which it would be unjust to pass over in silence—the judicious good sense and the acute discrimination which they displayed in baffling every attempt of Mr B. to enlist them on his side, by his affected commiseration for the labouring classes in our land, and appeals to their national feelings, and in the contemptuous sneer with which they received his many endeavours to impose upon the coolness of their judgments. On the third night of the debate, February 21st, Mr Thompson spoke last. He concluded his address in a strain of the most splendid and impressive eloquence. He appealed to every motive which has sway in the generous mind. He adjured them in the name of that God who has made of one blood all nations of men that dwell on the face of the earth, to set the Negro free, and make him as civilized, happy, intelligent, and religious as the Christian freemen who were now before him. The sense of the meeting was now taken. The chairman called on the friends of gradual emancipation to hold up their hands. The number was comparatively small. Those who advocated the immediate abolition were next called upon. No sooner had the words proceeded from the lips of the chairman than a forest of hands instantaneously made their appearance. We were in a very favourable position for beholding, and never shall we forget the exhilarating spectacle—the thousands of upstretched hands—the waving of handkerchiefs and hats—the joyous countenances—the loud rapturous huzzas drowning the serpent hissing of the

infuriated and humbled West Indians. Truly it was a sight lovely to look on, and which, though short in its duration, gives the mind a generous impulse for years. We sincerely hope that other places will not be backward in following the noble example of Glasgow, and that petitions, strong but respectful, will soon be presented from every town and village in Britain, that the hands of ministers may be strengthened in their attempts to obliterate for ever the plague-spot of slavery from our national character.